

AN ADDRESS

TO THE IMPARTIAL PUBLIC,

ON THE

Intolerant Spirit of the Times;

BEING THE INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MISCELLANEA

OF

M. J. SPALDING, D. D., BISHOP OF LOUISVILLE.

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LOUISVILLE:

WEBB & LEVERING, NO. 521 MAIN STREET.

1854.

## PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

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At the suggestion of several persons, whose judgment they highly value, the Publishers have decided to issue separately in pamphlet form, the "Introductory Address on the intolerant spirit of the times," prefixed to Bishop Spalding's forthcoming Miscellanea. They do so the more readily, as the Address is regarded not only as a useful tract for the times, but also as a suitable Introduction to the work; showing how far the subjects therein treated are opportune to the peculiar circumstances under which the Catholics of the United States are now placed.

In order that the readers of the Address may be able to see at a glance the drift of the publication, its contents are here given; and, unless the Publishers are greatly mistaken, the topics discussed will be found to possess more than ordinary interest.

The Publishers regret that, from causes entirely beyond their control, some delay has occurred in issuing the work. They believe they can now safely promise, that it will be ready for delivery by the fifteenth day of February next; till which time they must claim the indulgence of their patrons.

The "MISCELLANEA" will contain 682 pages, of same size and type, as the accompanying Address, and will be retailed at the unusual low price of \$2 25.

Although the work contains nearly one hundred pages more than at first proposed, it is issued at the very low price announced; as, from the deeply interesting character, and the great amount of valuable matter which the "Miscellanea" contains, the Publishers anticipate a heavy demand, and they desire to place the work at so low a price that all may be able to procure it.

WEBB & LEVERING.

## INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS,

### To the Impartial Public ;

#### ON THE INTOLERANT SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

An intolerant spirit invoked against Catholics—Bigotry an implacable monster—The danger of fostering the mob spirit—Features in the present anti-Catholic crusade—Cruel treatment of a Catholic priest—Our adversaries virtually yielding us the victory in fair argument—Their numerous inconsistencies—The Newark outrage—The *manliness* of the American character—Whence danger is to be apprehended to the Republic—The “bats and the eagles”—Hoping for better things—The accusations against us—Is the Catholic Church intolerant?—Or uncharitable?—Latitudinarianism, not charity—Principles of the Church in regard to persecution—Has she ever persecuted as a Church?—Third canon of Lateran—The Inquisition—John Huss—Catholic and Protestant persecution since the reformation—Intolerance in America—Who originated it, and who gave the first example of toleration?—Parallel between Catholic and Protestant countries in the matter of persecution—Are Catholics the enemies of republican government?—What Catholicity and Protestantism have done for human liberty—Charles Carroll of Carrollton—Washington and the Catholics—The temporal power of the Popes—Declarations of Archbishop Carroll and the American Bishops—Letter to the Pope—Are American Catholics a separate community?—Archbishop Carroll and Bishop Dubourg—Foreigners—What they have done for the country—“The foreign vote”—Foreign radicals and infidels—The naturalization laws—The common school system—What the Catholic Church says to her members—Her efforts to promote peace and order—Her charity for all mankind—Archbishop Kenrick's Pastoral.

THAT a fierce spirit of intolerance has been lately evoked in this once free country, no candid observer of passing events will deny. Christians of a particular denomination have been selected, as its first victims ; but no one who has studied human nature, as it is developed in the facts of history, will for a moment suppose, that the ruin of Catholics in this country will satisfy the cravings of this fierce Moloch of religious bigotry. As with the tiger, the taste of blood will but sharpen its appetite for new victims. So it has been in the past ; so it will be in the future.

Let no one deceive himself, nor suffer himself to be deceived, in a matter of so vital an importance to all who are sheltered under the glorious flag of our union. Once the barriers, which our noble constitution throws around the civil and religious liberties of all citizens alike, are broken down, no matter under what pretext of excitement, of political expediency, or necessity, there is no telling where the spirit of innovation will stop, or where the evils consequent upon it will be arrested. When a torrent has once broken through the embankment along its margin, it spreads devastation through the entire country ; and the husbandman who has neglected the necessary precautions, while it was yet time, finds

out, when it is too late for remedy, that all the fruits of his patient toil have been swept away or destroyed by the raging waters. So it will be precisely, should the checks and balances, which the wisdom and forecast of our fathers have inserted in the constitution, be neglected or set at naught. The torrent of human passions, once it has overleaped this barrier, will overwhelm our beautiful country with ruins. All our dearly bought liberties will be virtually destroyed; property will be no longer secure; law and order will give place to passion and mob violence; the dearest of all human rights and privileges,—that of worshiping God according to the dictates of our conscience,—will be annihilated; the beautiful earthly paradise of our happy republic will be changed into a frowning wilderness, filled with horror and desolation: finally, anarchy will take the place of order and good government. The worst possible species of tyranny is that of the mob. Far better be oppressed by one tyrant, than be crushed and torn by a thousand: far better have even a Nero or a Diocletian to lord it over you, than be ruled by that hydra-headed monster, called a *mob*. The solitary tyrant may have some misgivings, or retain some remnant of justice or humanity; he may at least be checked by a sense of personal responsibility, and may tremble on his throne at the fear of popular retribution: the many-headed despot has neither reason, nor justice, nor humanity, nor conscience, nor fear of God or man, to restrain him from deeds of violence.

For the truth of this picture, we appeal with confidence to all history; from the period when an excited mob cried out against the Blessed Jesus at the tribunal of Pilate:—Crucify Him! crucify Him!!—down to the other day, when another mob, composed of persons calling themselves *Christians*, raised fiendish shouts of triumph at the tearing down and trampling under foot of the Cross, which had ornamented the spire of a Catholic Church in Chelsea! At every time and in every place, the mob has always been the same ruthless, savage, untameable monster; the Christian scarcely less so than the pagan.<sup>1</sup>

Unhappily, we need not go far back into times past, nor travel far from home, to witness the sad effects of mob violence. A distinctive feature in the present crusade against Catholics in this country, is precisely the invoking against them of this ruthless spirit. Five or six of our churches either burnt, or sacked, or blown up by gunpowder,—most of them while our citizens were engaged in the joyous celebration of the liberty-hallowed Fourth of July;—street brawlers, generally

<sup>1</sup> For more on this subject, we refer to the Chapter on Mobs, in this Volume, p. 619, seqq., and to the Article on the Philadelphia Riots, p. 593, seqq.

men of the lowest and most infamous character, hired to vilify and slander us and all that we hold most dear and sacred in the public streets and highways, thereby openly exciting the passions of the ignorant to bloody civil feuds; our people, after having been thus grievously wronged in their character as citizens and as religionists, butchered in brutal street encounters, or assassinated in detail,<sup>1</sup> and then almost invariably placed in the wrong by a mendacious press and telegraph, in the interest of their enemies; and the victims of all these cruel and accumulated wrongs generally receiving, instead of sympathy, but additional obloquy and persecution, they being in almost every instance the only ones arrested and punished for the riots which others had caused, while the murderers and assassins and church burners escape:—these are some of the practical workings of that truculent spirit, which, during the present year, has been aroused against us in this *free* country!

Every one knows how a Catholic priest—the Rev. Mr. Bapst—was lately treated by a savage mob at Ellsworth in Maine. He was universally conceded to be a man of great zeal and benevolence, as well as of irreproachable life. The only crime alleged against him, was that he had dared express an opinion on the Common School System, different from that of the majority. For this, in pursuance of a resolution passed at a town meeting, he was tarred and feathered, ridden on a rail, and treated with indignities, which forcibly remind us of the scenes on Calvary; indignities of which savages should have been ashamed. The ruffians, amidst these horrible outrages to God's minister, did not, however, forget to rifle his pockets and to appropriate to themselves his watch and money!<sup>2</sup> Says the Bangor Journal—a secular print of the vicinity:

“While the tarring and feathering was going on, he was mocked and reviled with horrid blasphemies and indecencies. He was asked why he came over to this country. To preach the Catholic doctrine, he replied. We are Protestants, the ruffians said, and will teach you better than that. One, mocking him, said scornfully: “So they persecuted Jesus of old.” Another, reviling, asked “Will the Virgin Mary save you?” These blasphemies remind one of the mockings on Calvary. Some asked him how many wives he had, how many children, &c. These are the most decent of the insults, and are all that admit of publication.”

Do we live in the nineteenth century, or have we been transported back to the period of civil commotions in the middle ages; when modern society was struggling into form, when feudal strife filled Europe with bloody intestine feuds, and when Guelph and Ghibelline caused the streets of Florence and Milan to run in blood? Do we live in a land of

<sup>1</sup> Witness the assassination of poor McCarthy at Newark; and other murders mentioned in the public prints.

<sup>2</sup> Something more than fifty dollars



liberty and law, or in one of tyranny and anarchy? Has our noble constitution—the master work of human wisdom—become a dead letter; or what is worse, have its just and equitable provisions, securing equal civil and religious freedom to all, been openly contemned and trampled under foot? Have our people forgotten the price of liberty, that they now hold it so cheap? What will the friends of monarchy and the enemies of republicanism in the old world think and say, as they point in triumph to these sad commentaries, which we have written with our own hands, on our boasted fundamental principle of equal law and equal privileges to all? What will the radical republicans of Europe, with whom so many of our people profess to sympathize, answer, when their opponents will appeal to such practical workings of liberty as the above, in the great Model Republic across the Atlantic? Can any reasonable man doubt, that the excesses to which we allude will have the effect of greatly weakening, if not of wholly marring the cause of true and rational liberty throughout the world?

If history utters any warning, or teaches any lesson, it is this great truth: that persecution has never yet put down a good cause, nor materially served a bad one. Truth may be obscured or smothered for a time; it cannot be destroyed. Thus the sun may be darkened for a time by the interposing cloud, but anon his bright rays will break out again to illumine the world; no human power can wholly extinguish his light, much less blot him out from the heavens. Yet the sun will share the fate of all things created, and cease to exist; but the truth of God abideth forever. For more than eighteen centuries the Catholic Church has stood, a tower of strength, amidst the ruins of all things earthly, strewn in her pathway. Dynasties have changed, thrones have fallen, and sceptres have been broken around her; yet has she stood, and she still stands, stronger than ever:

“She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments, that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. . . Four times since the Church of Rome was established in western Christendom has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. When we reflect upon the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.”<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could, in fact, be more honorable to the Catholic Church than the mode of warfare which has been lately adopted to effect her ruin in this country. In appealing to passion and mob violence against her, her

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay—Review of Ranke's History of the Popes.

enemies virtually acknowledge that calm examination and sober reasoning are powerless for her destruction; by the necessity under which they find themselves to resort to misrepresentation and slander, they substantially concede that they would be worsted in the fair field of truthful statement and dispassionate argument. Thus, those Protestants who have been induced by prejudice and passion to favor this unhallowed mode of attack upon our Church, have really abandoned the vantage-ground in the controversy, and have thereby unwittingly yielded us the victory. Bad temper, unfairness, and violence in a disputant, greatly damage his cause, in the judgment of all calm and impartial men; while the party assailed by such weapons is always sure to win sympathy, and to gain on public opinion.

Another feature in the present violent warfare against us, is its glaring inconsistency. The men who are most prominent in the crusade are, in general, as unprincipled as the means they employ are detestable.<sup>1</sup> Professing to be the champions of freedom, their secret and even avowed object is to rob of freedom a large portion of their fellow citizens:—for their “war to the hilt against Romanism,” as explained by their words and their *actions*, means nothing less than this. Professing to love the Bible, and boasting a wish to see the principles of the Bible triumphantly carried out in politics, they trample recklessly upon the most cherished principles of the Bible. The Bible says: “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;” they say, we must hate our neighbor, and declare war to the hilt against him, if he happen to belong to the oldest and most numerous body of Christians on the face of the earth. The Bible teaches, that we must love our enemies; they hate even their friends, or those at least who have never wronged them in thought or deed. The Bible inculcates the equitable principle, that we must do unto others, as we would wish others to do unto us under like circumstances; they teach that Catholics are to be excluded from the operation of this Gospel rule. The Bible teaches, that we are to be kind and indulgent to the poor stranger who comes within our borders; they teach that no treatment is too hard for the stranger, if he dare think for himself in matters of religion, and exercise his undoubted civil rights—clearly guaranteed to him by the constitution in the country of his adoption. These specifications will suffice to show, how our boasted lovers and champions of the Bible,—who are wont to parade the sacred volume in their riotous and bloody proces-

<sup>1</sup> We speak here and throughout this Address chiefly of the leaders in the anti-Catholic warfare. We are convinced that very many among those who have enrolled themselves in the new political party are well meaning men, who have been misled by the arts of others, or who are even persuaded that they are doing God and their country service by proscribing Catholics!

sions,<sup>1</sup> — wantonly trample it under foot, whenever its declarations conflict with their headlong passions.

Another glaring inconsistency in those who are foremost in the anti-Catholic crusade, is found in the fact, that while they profess to advocate a change of policy in regard to all foreigners who come to our shores, they secretly, and sometimes even openly, fraternize with the blood-stained Irish Orangemen and the truculent German infidels! Their boasted political principles are thus lost sight of, or openly violated, whenever there is a good opportunity for waging a "war to the hilt against Romanism." Every one is familiar with the late atrocious attack on the Catholic Church at Newark by Irish Orangemen, and how the press in the interest of the Know Nothings, as usual, added slander to outrage, by laying all the blame on the Irish Catholics. Well, sacrilege was perpetrated in the open light of day; murder was done on the person of an inoffensive man: yet up to the present day not one among the foreign Protestant perpetrators of these horrid deeds has been even arrested! Still the truth came out, after the first storm of passion had passed away; and even the New York Tribune, re-echoing the declaration of other papers, at length honorably proclaimed it as follows:

THE NEWARK MURDER AND SACRILEGE.— "That Church stands fairly exculpated from all offense, and its devastation is an unprovoked and shameful outrage, which reflects great discredit on Newark and belligerent Protestantism. And it is worthy of note that while this is the fifth or sixth Catholic edifice, which has been destroyed or devastated by mob violence in our country, *there is no instance on record wherein a Protestant house of worship has been ravaged by Catholics.*"<sup>2</sup>

As if conscious of the dishonorable character of their warfare on Catholics, the new anti-Catholic party enters the field shrouded in secrecy and wrapped up in mystery. Professing to be the champions of "American principles," they skulk away into darkness, and seem ashamed to show their faces in the light of day. If this be one of the "American principles," then are we done forever with American principles! Born and reared up in this free country, we have doated from our infancy on the glorious principles embodied in our noble declaration of independence, and in those cognate ones set forth in our matchless constitution. They have been the dream of our youth, and the idol of our maturer years. And we have had abundant opportunities to know, that those whom *choice*, and not the mere *accident* of birth, have made citizens of our happy country, have, without an exception known to us, entertained a fond predilection for American principles, scarcely surpassed in intensity

<sup>1</sup> As they did during the Philadelphia Riots.

<sup>2</sup> New York Tribune, of September 8, 1854.



by our own. But we and they had thought, in our simplicity, that *manliness* was one among those cherished "American principles": that it was even an essential part of the American character to be open, candid, and straight-forward in all its acts; that the American could have no possible cause to be ashamed either of his name, of his political doctrines, or of his acts; that he needed no cover of darkness to conceal either his purposes or his deeds. But we were mistaken; our dream has been dissipated; and we awake to the painful reality, that neither we nor our fathers knew anything about "American principles," until we were happily taught them by foreign infidels, incendiaries, and assassins, boasting the hallowed name of patriots and martyrs of liberty! Yet these were the very men against whose pernicious arts Washington had so solemnly warned us, when he bade us beware of foreign influence! The real danger to our republican institutions lies in the encouragement given to those mischievous men — the spawn of foreign revolutions — whom failure in their attempts abroad cause to be cast upon our shores. Received with open arms by our patriotic sympathy, they proceed forthwith to organize amongst us those dangerous secret political societies, which were the chief instruments of their warfare in Europe. Hear what the venerable Josiah Quincy says of such societies:

"The liberties of a people are never more certainly in the path of destruction, than when they trust themselves to the guidance of secret societies. Birds of the night are never birds of wisdom. One of them indeed received this name, but it was from its *looks*, and not from its moral and intellectual qualities. They are for the most part birds of prey. The fate of a republic is sealed when the Bats take the lead of the Eagles."

Every reader of American history knows how Washington saved the country, by refusing to recognize Genet, the envoy of the bloody French republic; whose arts and influence among the people had well nigh brought ruin on our infant government. The calm judgment and wise forecast of Washington prevented us from being led away by this most dangerous "foreign influence;" leading to precisely such "entangling alliances," as the demagogue Kossuth, at a more recent period, sought, happily in vain, to bring about.

But enough on this branch of the subject. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, for a moment, that the narrow-minded, inconsistent, unscriptural, un-American, and utterly detestable spirit, exhibited by those among us who now take a leading part in the warfare against Catholics, is at all likely to become the settled policy of our yet happy and prosperous country. Should we, however, be wrong in this belief, and should that

truculent spirit prevail for a time over sounder and more American principles; should the persecution of Catholics continue and increase until our churches will all be in ruins, and there will remain no resting place for our feet on the soil of this republic; then are we convinced, that amidst the ruins of our Church in this country will be strewn likewise the ruins of the republic itself! The liberal and enlarged principles of the latter will be annihilated; its greatness will be arrested and its glories dimmed; and while the stars of its flag may yet float in the heavens, its *E PLURIBUS UNUM* will be obliterated, and its many-colored stripes, emblematic of union in diversity — like its motto — will be blotted out forever.<sup>1</sup>

Still we are unshaken in our hope of better things in the future. There is, after all, a strongly conservative spirit and a practical good sense in the mass of our population, which needs only be fairly awakened, to frown down all attempts at fastening on our necks the system of narrow-minded and proscriptive policy of which we are speaking. To this practical sense and “sober second thought” alone do we now address ourselves; all reasoning with the unscrupulous faction which seeks to abridge or destroy our liberties, were worse than useless. We will accordingly devote the remaining portion of this Address to answering some principal objections made against us by our more reasonable opponents. Fully to refute them all, would require a volume; though the bulk of the charges might be answered, by simply saying that we are misrepresented. We will confine ourselves to those which affect our character as citizens:<sup>2</sup> and even here, we must be brief, though we hope that what we shall be able to say will be plain, straightforward, and to the purpose. Truth needs no gloss nor drapery; when presented in its simple and unadorned beauty, it best attracts the admiration, and wins the homage of all its candid and impartial votaries.

Almost all the accusations made against us are reducible to these two heads: first, that in religion we are intolerant and proscriptive; second, that in politics, we are enemies of republican institutions, and friends of a foreign despotism. We will proceed summarily to answer these two charges, together with some of the principal specifications alleged to support them. But as we cannot be reasonably expected in this Introductory Address to go into all the details necessary for the full

1 Or, if not wholly obliterated, at least severed from the unity of the Flag: the *stars* being for the native born, and the *stripes* for the foreigner, escaping from tyranny to this noble asylum of freedom! This is the beautiful thought of Archbishop Hughes.

2 In the following Pages, we answer many of the most current popular charges against the Church; particularly in the Theological Essays, Part ii, p. 297, seqq.

elucidation of a subject so vast in the topics which it must necessarily embrace, we shall claim the privilege of referring, as we proceed, to the Essays contained in this volume for such additional facts and illustrations as they may supply, on the points which will successively come under discussion.

I. In regard to the charge of exclusiveness and intolerance, two things, which are often confounded, should be accurately distinguished : namely, *theological* exclusiveness and *civil* intolerance. Our Protestant brethren have, in general, very vague and loose ideas upon this subject. Among them, the term *religious liberality* generally implies what might with more propriety be called *latitudinarianism*. The fashionable theory, which now obtains extensively among those outside of the Catholic Church, holds that it matters not what a Christian believes, provided he try to be a moral man and a good citizen ; in other words, that Christ either taught no specific doctrines whatever, or that He required, as a condition of salvation, belief in none which He did teach, or at most in but a few fundamental articles. When those, who maintain the obligation of belief in these fundamental principles only, are called upon to define them, they are often embarrassed for an answer ; some giving a wider, some a more limited range to the points in question. All, however, agree in advocating, to a greater or less extent, the latitudinarian principle above indicated.

Now we Catholics strongly protest against this popular theory, as tending to unsettle all faith, and to subvert Christianity itself. We hold that Christ delivered a definite system of religion ; that *all* the doctrines which He taught are equally true, and equally to be believed ; that He died on the cross to seal the truth of them all with His blood ; and that consequently all the articles of faith which he established, in a manner so solemn, must be believed by all who have the means of knowing them. In other words, we hold that Christ, being the Son of God and Truth itself, did establish, and in the very nature of things, could have established, but *ONE RELIGION* ; and that, as He founded it for the salvation of mankind, He must have required that it should be embraced, in all its parts, by all who would be saved. This principle we regard as almost self-evident ; and we cannot see how it can be denied by any, who have definite ideas on the nature and purpose of the Christian religion, or who believe in the divinity of its Author and Founder. If the Christian religion was not, after all, necessary to salvation, then why did the Son of God undergo so much labor, and endure so much obloquy and

suffering for its establishment? Why did He say, speaking of all the doctrines which He had taught without any distinction: "He that believeth not, shall be condemned?"<sup>1</sup> Why does His inspired apostle Paul declare, in the name of his Master,— "Without faith it is impossible to please God!"<sup>2</sup>

But our present purpose does not require us to discuss this or any other doctrinal point; we are merely stating our belief. What then do we hold in regard to those who are outside of the one true Church of Christ? Do we condemn them all alike and indiscriminately? We do not. We leave them to their own responsibility before God, by whose unerring judgment they will, like ourselves, stand or fall. If not united with the Church, *through their own fault*,—having the light and opportunity to find out what it is, and neglecting to correspond therewith,—they are in imminent danger of losing their immortal souls, for which Jesus died. If they are separated from it, *without any fault of theirs*,—should there be any such,—they will not be condemned *for this*; for God condemns none but the guilty. Whether they are out of the true church with or without their own fault, the great Searcher of hearts alone can decide; and in His hands we leave them.

But the Catholic Church teaches farther, with Christ Himself, that we must "love our neighbor as ourselves;" that we must bear the burdens of one another; that we must pray for and love even our enemies, and do good to those who do evil to us; that, when it is question of solacing misery or succoring distress, we must not stop to inquire the belief of the sufferer: in a word, that without charity towards *all* mankind, the profession of Christianity were vain and profitless. The Catholic Church enjoins upon her children to be just in all their dealings, to be good citizens, to be good neighbors, to be good parents, good children, good husbands, good wives;—good in every relation of society; but especially, to be good Christians, loving God above all things, and performing all their actions for His honor and glory.

If these principles be intolerant, then must we plead guilty to the charge. But if they be such as are essentially connected with Christianity itself, such as alone are true and consistent with the whole tenor and the very end and aim of the Christian religion; then are we content to bear whatever of obloquy may attach to our belief in them. If, to be considered charitable, we are called upon to sacrifice truth and common sense itself, and to say that a hundred contradictory systems of belief may all be equally

<sup>1</sup> St. Mark xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Hebrews xi.

true, then must we submit to the imputation of uncharitableness. In this we do but imitate St. Paul, who sought not to please men, but rather to be the servant of Christ;<sup>1</sup> and we do but share in the ignominy of Christ Himself, who, instead of flattering human error, died for the truth.

But does the Catholic Church "call down fire from heaven" on the heads of those who dissent from her belief? By no means: hers has been at all times a different spirit altogether, and one more consonant with that of her divine Founder. Her mission has been to win sinners to repentance, to inculcate mercy and love, not hatred and bitterness. The first laws for the punishment of heretics were enacted by the early Christian emperors, not by the Popes, the bishops, or the Church. The latter deprecated all rigor against the sectaries, unless in particular cases, where it seemed indispensable to restrain violence, or to redress open and glaring outrages against religious liberty.<sup>2</sup> The Catholic bishops and the Popes were themselves often the victims of imperial claims to regulate the affairs of the Church; and it is very doubtful whether they could have prevented the enactment and execution of the laws in question. The Popes were always opposed to violent measures for the propagation of the faith among pagans; and they were also in the habit of throwing the shield of their protection around the Jews, whenever their religious privileges and civil rights were infringed by intemperate Christian zeal.<sup>3</sup> The Church has thus always adopted and acted upon the maxim of Tertullian, who, more than sixteen centuries ago, claimed religious liberty for Christians as an indefeasable right, growing out of the very nature of religion itself: "RELIGIONIS NON EST RELIGIONEM COGERE—IT IS NOT A PART OF RELIGION TO ESTABLISH RELIGION BY FORCE."<sup>4</sup> Her spirit of mildness was breathed forth by the great St. Augustine, when, writing to Donatus, the imperial Proconsul in Africa, he deprecated all undue severity against the Arians and Donatists, and said: "We desire them to be *corrected*, not *slain*."<sup>5</sup> As one of her greatest Popes, St. Leo the Great, says: "The lenity of the Church being content with the priestly sentence, shrinks from sanguinary vengeance;"<sup>6</sup> and she sanctions or tolerates severe measures emanating from the princes of the earth, only when, without them, society

1 "Do I seek to please men? If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ."—*Galatians* i, 10.

2 See the evidence on this subject, presented in considerable detail by Archbishop Kenrick, in his work on the Primacy; Part II, chap. viii.

3 For many facts sustaining this assertion, see "The Primacy," *ibid*.

4 The whole passage of Tertullian, as translated by Archbishop Kenrick, is as follows: "It is man's right and privilege, that each one should worship what he thinks proper; nor can the religion of another injure or profit him. Neither is it a part of religion to compel its adoption; since this should be spontaneous, not forced, as even sacrifices are asked only of the cheerful giver." Primacy, —*ibid*.

5 Epist. Donato.

6 Epist. ad Turribilium.



itself would be endangered, "all regard for probity destroyed, all bonds of society dissolved, and divine and human laws at once overturned." Hence that celebrated and well known maxim, embodied as an axiom in her Canon Law : "ECCLESIA ABHORRET A SANGUINE—THE CHURCH ABHORS BLOODSHED." So far is this principle carried, that a standing rule of her discipline forbids the ordination, not only of those who have been guilty of shedding blood, but also of those who, whether as judges, accusers, or voluntary witnesses, have co-operated towards passing a sentence of death on a fellow man, or even one of bodily mutilation without taking life.<sup>2</sup> From the earliest period of her history, she has taught and acted upon these principles. To furnish one out of a hundred examples of this, it is well known that in the fourth century, St. Martin, the illustrious bishop of Tours, openly censured two Spanish bishops—Ithacius and Idacius—for teaching that the Priscillianists should be punished with corporal chastisement or death for their wicked heresy, though this tended to the subversion of social order itself; and the Church sustained him in his truly Christian course.<sup>3</sup>

Persecution is not, and never has been a doctrine of the Catholic Church. Our standard writers have often boldly defied their adversaries to establish the contrary proposition; but their challenge has never been fairly met. Surely, if the Catholic Church had ever taught persecution, as a doctrine, her enemies could tell us when and where she inculcated the offensive tenet. If she ever persecuted, *as a Church*, they could certainly furnish us with such facts and specifications on the subject, as would not be susceptible of either explanation or reply. The Catholic Church is no secret society; she has taught boldly, and acted out her teaching openly in the arena of the world for more than eighteen centuries; and if the charge of persecution could be sustained against her, it would long since have been done. The attempt has indeed been made, but it has utterly failed. Our writers have scattered to the winds the arguments of their opponents on this subject, and have shown that, in the majority of cases, the latter have substituted vague declamation for *facts*, fiery appeals to passion for sober argument.

But have not Catholics persecuted in times past? We do not deny it; but we answer, that they did so in virtue of no doctrine of their Church. If the mere act of persecution proved the doctrine, then it would follow that all the Protestant sects hold the same odious tenet; for all of them

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. He refers to the fatal errors of the ancient Manicheans.

<sup>2</sup> See our Canonists—*passim*.

<sup>3</sup> The great St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, united with St. Martin in this charitable interposition in favor of the persecuted Priscillianists.

have been stained with persecution, at one period or other of their history. They have all persecuted Catholics, whenever and wherever they had the power to do so; and almost all of them have likewise been guilty of the glaring inconsistency of persecuting brother Protestants, for daring, in the exercise of the conceded right of private judgment, to think differently from themselves! But who would infer from this undoubted fact, that Protestants generally hold it as a *doctrine*, that all who dissent from their particular views should be put down by fire and sword? Such a conclusion would be clearly illogical and grievously unjust. Now we claim the application of the same equitable principle to the charge of persecution brought against our Church; and surely our claim is not unreasonable.

But the Catholic Church professes to be infallible and unchangeable, whereas the Protestant sects admit that they are liable to err, and have often erred in times past. We freely grant the latter proposition; in regard to the former, our adversaries lose sight of a very obvious distinction, which truth demands should be made. The Catholic Church is unchangeable in *doctrine*, but not in *discipline*. The latter may and does vary in its details, according to times, places, and circumstances. So that, even if our opponents should prove that our Church had, at any period of her history, adopted persecution as a line of conduct under particular circumstances, or as a general *discipline*, they would not still make good their position. But have they established even this proposition? We believe not; and to show how inconclusive are their arguments, on a point which does not directly touch the real matter at issue, we will briefly refer to a few of their specifications.

They allege, with an air of triumph, the third Canon of the fourth Council of Lateran,<sup>1</sup> which excommunicated heretics, and ordered that they should be delivered up for punishment to the secular power. Our answer is obvious. In the first place, it is manifest that no *doctrine* is promulgated by this canon, but that only a rule of action is laid down for a particular case. 2. We may observe, that Mathew Paris, a weighty cotemporary historian, denies that this and the other canons were the acts of the council itself;<sup>2</sup> and that the English Protestant church historian, Collier, declares his belief that the third canon in particular is not genuine.<sup>3</sup> 3. But, waiving this, and admitting the genuineness of the canon, every reader of Church History knows that it was enacted with the full concurrence, and probably on the positive demand, of the

<sup>1</sup> Held A. D. 1215.

<sup>2</sup> Math. Paris — ad annum 1215, apud Milner — Letters to a Prebendary.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, Ecclesiastical History; vol. i, p. 421: quoted *ibid*.

temporal sovereigns of Christendom, who were nearly all of them present at the council, either personally, or by their ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> Some of the provisions of the canon could not, in fact, have been enacted, much less, carried into execution, but with the consent and co-operation of the temporal sovereigns; especially of those who were chiefly concerned. It may here be remarked, in general, that many of the councils held during the middle ages were not exclusively ecclesiastical conventions, but rather congresses of all Christendom, representing the temporal as well as the spiritual power.<sup>2</sup> 4. The severe provisions of this canon were directed against the Albigenses, who then infested the south of France, than whom a more pestilent sect probably never existed. They were the sworn foes of all religion, of all decency, and of all social order. Wherever they appeared, desolation and ruin followed in their pathway.<sup>3</sup> They were the Jacobins and *Sans-culottes* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and they were, if possible, even more truculent and bloody than the Jacobins themselves. They were the enemies of both God and man. Worse than our modern Mormons, they condemned marriage altogether, and gave a free rein to every brutal passion and appetite. Had they succeeded in establishing their principles, all order and all civilization would have been at an end. Is it any wonder then, that all Christendom — the State no less than the Church — rose up in mass to put down, even by force, a sect so monstrous? Is it not plain also, that, such being the facts, the severe measures sanctioned by the council constitute an exceptional case, which should not be alleged as evidence of a general rule? And for the truth of this picture, we appeal with confidence to all cotemporary history. We may safely apply to them what the learned Protestant church historian Mosheim candidly says of a cognate sect — the Brethren of the Free Spirit: <sup>4</sup>

“Certain writers, who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the Church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having falsely attributed impious doctrines to the Brethren of the Free Spirit.

1 There were thus present at this council the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the kings of France, England, Aragon, Sicily, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus; besides several minor sovereigns.

2 As during the period in question, society was struggling into form, and there were no standing armies to repel strongly organized and wide-spread aggressions upon social order, expeditions of a general character for the defense of society were decided on in councils of the European sovereigns; and when the enemies of order were likewise the foes of religion, these expeditions were called crusades.

3 For facts and details on this subject, we beg to refer to “The Primacy,” by Archbishop Kenrick, *sup. cit.*

4 During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a great part of Europe was infested with pernicious sects, which revived under different forms the anti-social errors of the ancient Manicheans. They were all alike, though they bore the different names of Turlupins, Begards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and Albigenses. The Petro-Brusians were a kindred sect.

But this suspicion is entirely *groundless*, &c. . . . Their shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption. . . . Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained, that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible or atrocious.”<sup>1</sup>

But what have we to say on the Inquisition, especially the Spanish Inquisition; which, with the alleged sanction of the Church, filled Christendom with so many horrors for ages? What explanation are we to give of what occurred at the Council of Constance, which, contrary to plighted faith, consigned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames? Satisfactory answers on both these points could be easily given; and they have been given a hundred times already. But as we devote special Essays to these subjects in the following pages,<sup>2</sup> we must refer the candid reader to them for details; and we do so with entire confidence, that all who will take the trouble to read these papers, will rise from the perusal with the conviction, that even those darker passages in the Church’s history do not make out the case of persecution against her, even as a point of discipline.

Come we now to times nearer our own day. What are the statistics of persecution during the last three centuries, since the dawn of what has been called by its friends the *reformation*? And how stands the case at present in Europe, and in *America*? No candid man who has read history aright will deny, that during this period, and especially at present, we have been, and are now, much more sinned against than sinning in the matter of persecution. Catholics who speak the English language, in particular, have been for three hundred years, almost without intermission, the victims of the most ruthless intolerance. Robbed of their church and often of their personal property; slandered in their reputation; hunted down by the myrmidons of a persecuting government; branded as traitors and outlaws in their own country and that of their fathers before them: such has been their treatment in Protestant England up to a comparatively recent period; ever since the fatal day when the tyrant Henry VIII.—the Nero of modern times—quarreled with the Pope, and violently severed the unity of the Church, because she could not and would not sanction his headlong passions, to the injury of a virtuous wife!<sup>3</sup> In Ireland, the fate of the Catholics was still harder, and of longer continuance.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. History, vol. III, p. 284; MacLain’s translation—quoted by Milner.

<sup>2</sup> See the Articles on the Spanish Inquisition, and on John Huss and the Hussites; pp. 213, 191 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> See the third Article on Church History p. 57 seqq, for farther details on the reformation in England.

<sup>4</sup> In the Article on Ireland and the Irish—p. 506 seqq., we have sketched the sufferings of Catholic Ireland under English persecution.

We go even farther, and state, as a fact which no one will deny, who retains the least regard for historic truth, that in every country in Europe where the reformation succeeded, Catholics were invariably persecuted, almost as atrociously and for nearly as long a time, as in England and Ireland. Robbery, sacrilege, slander, civil commotions and bloodshed, were everywhere the arms with which incipient Protestantism assailed those, whose only crime was their honest wish to adhere to the faith, and worship at the altars of their forefathers, and of the forefathers of those very men too who were engaged in persecuting them! Perhaps in Switzerland, an old Catholic republic with some remains of the ancient Catholic freedom, the persecuting spirit was less rampant than elsewhere; but even in Switzerland, with its glowing Catholic memories of William Tell, Furst, and Melchtal, we find no exception to the remark just made. Even there the fiercely intolerant spirit of the early reformers was not softened. This we establish, by abundant evidence, in a special Essay on the Reformation in Switzerland.<sup>1</sup>

We conclude this branch of the subject with an extract from the Edinburgh Review—an unexceptionable Protestant authority—which candidly places in its true light the character of the self-styled reformers, in the matter of persecution:<sup>2</sup>

“Protestant writers, in general, are apt to describe the reformation as a struggle for religious freedom. . . . Now, we humbly apprehend, that the free exercise of private judgment was most heartily abhorred by the first reformers, except only where the persons who assumed it had the good fortune to be exactly of their opinion. . . . The martyrdoms of Servetus, in Geneva, and of Joan Bocher, in England, are notable instances of the religious freedom which prevailed in the pure and primitive state of the Protestant churches. It is obvious, also, that the freedom for which our first reformers so strenuously contended, did not, by any means, include a freedom to think as the Catholics thought; that is to say, to think as all Europe had thought for many ages, and as the greatest part of Europe thought at the very time and continue to think to this very day. *The complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our first reformers.* In 1560, by an act of the parliament, which established the reformation in Scotland, both the sayers and hearers of Mass, whether in public or in private, were, for the first offense, to suffer confiscation of all their goods, together with corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; they were to be punished by banishment for the second offense; and *by death* for the third! . . . It was not possible for the most bigoted Catholic to inculcate more distinctly the complete extirpation of the opinions and worship of the Protestants, than John Knox inculcated as a most sacred duty, incumbent on the civil government in the first instance, and if the civil government is remiss, incumbent

<sup>1</sup> Page 284, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> For the intolerant character of the early English reformers, see Article III, on Church History, p. 57 seqq. where we give Macaulay's portrait of Crommer.



on the people, to extirpate completely the opinions and worship of the Catholics, and even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman, and child. . . . If the government had followed the directions of the clergy, the Catholics would have been extirpated by the sword. . . . In the reigns of Charles the Second, and of his brother, a Protestant prelaey, in alliance with a Protestant administration, outstrip the wishes of those arbitrary monarchs in the persecution of their Protestant countrymen. It is needless to weary ourselves or our readers with disgusting details, which the curious in martyrology may find in various publications. Everybody knows that the martyrdoms were both numerous and cruel, but perhaps the comparative mildness of the *Catholic* Church of Scotland, is not so generally known. Knox has investigated the matter with commendable diligence, but has not been able to muster more than eighteen martyrs who perished by the hand of the executioner, from the year 1500, when heresy first began, till 1559, when the Catholics had no longer the power to persecute. . . . It is, indeed, a horrid list; but far short of the numbers, who, during the twenty-two years immediately previous to the Revolution, were capitally executed in Scotland for the '*wicked error*' of separation from the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church."<sup>1</sup>

While we heartily unite with every lover of freedom in condemning all acts of persecution for conscience sake which have ever been perpetrated, no matter what the alleged motive or pretext, candor will compel even our adversaries to acknowledge, that in the persecution of Catholics by Protestants, there were aggravating circumstances, which were not found in the persecution of the latter by the former. Protestant persecution was purely aggressive; Catholic persecution was mainly defensive: the former sought to rob Catholics of all they held most dear; the latter was directed chiefly towards maintaining the most undoubted and most sacred rights. Catholics were in possession; Protestants aimed at violently ousting them from their firesides and their altars, and taking their place. Catholics sought to preserve the ancient faith and worship, hallowed and rendered dear by a thousand glorious memories; Protestants sought to substitute for it, frequently by violence, new doctrines and new forms, about which they were not themselves agreed, and which they claimed the right of changing as often as they might judge proper.

Waiving all this, however, let us strike evenly the balance of persecution in the past; burying whatever is unpleasant in generous oblivion, and forgiving as we hope to be forgiven. Now, how stands the account of religious persecution at the present day? Is all the intolerance on the side of Catholics? Or have not Protestants at least their own full share of the guilt, which they are so free to charge exclusively on others? Let us see.

The impartial comparison between Catholic and Protestant countries, on

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Review, Article VIII., entitled "Toleration of the Reformers," No. 53.

the subject of persecution in late years, exhibits a fearful balance against the latter. It may be stated without exaggeration, that there is scarcely a Protestant country on the face of the earth, which does not even at this enlightened day, persecute Catholics, in one form or another, or which has not persecuted them during the present century ; while there is, on the contrary, scarcely a Catholic nation in the world, which does persecute, or has recently persecuted Protestants. Strange as this may sound in the ears of those who have been misled into the persuasion, that the Catholic is essentially a persecuting Church, and that we owe religious freedom entirely to Protestantism, it is nevertheless true. Here are the facts ; and first on the Catholic side.

France is Catholic, and France not only grants the fullest liberty of worship to her small number of Protestant citizens, but she even pays their ministers out of the public treasury. Austria is Catholic ; and Austria, despotic though she be usually represented, concedes a full measure of religious liberty to the Protestant minority, allowing them even to have their own separate schools, supported, like those of the Catholic majority, from the common fund.<sup>1</sup> Bavaria is Catholic, and Bavaria also allows equal civil and religious privileges to her Protestant subjects. Belgium is Catholic, and Belgium has a fundamental law, granting unrestricted and equal religious freedom to all. Italy, Spain, and Portugal, with perhaps some of the colonies of the two last, may be thought to form exceptions to this general rule ; but though their policy be somewhat proscriptive on the score of religion, we read of no acts of persecution, worthy the name, having been recently perpetrated therein. In the first place, they evidently could not have been guilty of persecuting their Protestant citizens, for the very simple reason that they have no Protestant citizens. If they are jealous, especially of English Protestants, who sometimes pass through those countries, distributing tracts and Bibles, it has generally happened, because England has rendered herself justly odious on the continent of Europe by her constant political intrigues among her neighbors, often carried on under the guise of religious zeal ; and because her tract distributors are suspected, frequently with too much reason, of being political propagandists, and secret agents paid for their services.

The intrigues of Lord Minto in Italy, and those of Bulwer and others in Spain, are too well known to require proof. One of the principal means employed by the hired agents of these men for strengthening English influence, was the distribution of Bibles and tracts, and the accompanying

<sup>1</sup> The authority for this statement will be given a little farther on.

efforts to make proselytes among the Catholic inhabitants. The intrigue, however, was unsuccessful; Bulwer was compelled to leave Spain, and Minto is now detested in Italy as never was man detested before. The affair of the Madiat, about which so great an outcry was lately made, may be easily explained in this way. Their imprisonment was the result of their active attempts at proselytism, as *paid* emissaries of England; not of their wish to profess and practise religious principles opposed to those of the Catholic majority. It is a notorious fact, that in both Italy and Spain, Protestant travelers or temporary residents are never molested on account of peculiarities in their religious creed or worship; provided they, on their side, do not interfere with the faith and worship of the Catholic population. The Anglican church and our American Protestants have places of worship at Rome itself, under the eyes and with the permission of the Pope; who not only allows them to assemble therein for religious purposes as often as they wish, but protects them in the enjoyment of their religious freedom. Protestants have similar religious privileges in Tuscany, and elsewhere in Italy. At Rome, at Florence, at Leghorn, and in other places, they have also their separate cemeteries. If this latter privilege has not as yet been granted to Protestant strangers sojourning in Spain, we have little doubt that it will soon be conceded; whenever, in fact, it will be demanded in a proper manner, by a sufficient number of Protestants to render a separate burial place an object of importance or necessity. The only complaint which the very few non-Catholics passing through, or residing for a time in Spain, can now make on this subject is, that in case of death they are not buried in ground expressly set apart and blessed for Catholic interment, or with the solemnities which usually accompany the Catholic funeral;—privileges which they would scarcely covet, even in this free country. Those who make so much noise about Spanish intolerance in the matter of Protestant funerals, wholly lose sight of, or purposely conceal the fact, that in Protestant England—where there are a thousand resident Catholic *citizens* for every Protestant *stranger* in Spain—Catholics are not allowed to be buried, with any pomp or ceremonial, in the public cemeteries; though these are, in many instances, old Catholic burial grounds, wrested by violence from their original Catholic purpose by the English Protestant government! The Catholics of England have thus much more reason to complain on this subject, than have the very few Protestants who may happen to be for a time in Spain.

Let us now take a rapid glance at the Protestant nations of Europe. In all of them, without an exception known to us, there is an established

religion, with a union of Church and State. In the freest amongst them all — England — Catholics are barely tolerated; they are continually loaded with obloquy and abuse, and are frequently made the victims of petty legal enactments. Witness the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; the late savage outbreak of indignation at the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy; the bitter prosecution of Dr. Newman; and the monster grievance of all — the bloated church establishment — fattened on the sweat and blood of the crushed and down-trodden masses of the people. Protestant Holland recently persecuted her Catholic subjects to such an extent, as to drive them into a rebellion, the result of which was the independence of Catholic Belgium. Protestant Prussia lately imprisoned the venerable Archbishop of Cologne, to compel him to sacrifice his conscientious convictions; and Protestant Baden is now actively engaged in a similar disgraceful persecution of the venerable Archbishop Vicari, of Freyburg, and of his clergy, for the same unhallowed motive. But the Archbishop of Freyburg is destined to triumph over the intolerant Protestant government of the Grand Duke, as he of Cologne triumphed over the persecuting Prussian monarch.<sup>1</sup> In Protestant Sweden, he who dares become a Catholic is banished the country, and his property is confiscated to the state; and we believe a similar law exists in Protestant Denmark. In Sweden, but a few years ago, the distinguished painter Nilsen suffered the full penalty of this iniquitous law; and more recently still several ladies, distinguished for their piety, have had the same severe sentence passed on them. Heartless must be the persecutor, who does not spare even the weakness of woman! Finally, every one knows how fiercely the Swiss Protestants raged against the Catholics, when the latter were overpowered by superior numbers in the late civil war, brought about itself by the most reckless Protestant intolerance; how the holy Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva was banished from his country; how the Jesuits were expelled, and the poor defenseless nuns were driven from their convents; how church property was confiscated, including even that of the benevolent monks of Mount St. Bernard, who had saved so many valuable Protestant lives amidst the snows of the Alps; and how an iron yoke was there placed on the necks of the down-trodden Catholic minority.

If there be a Protestant country in the world, which has not even recently persecuted Catholics, we have not yet learned its name; and it ill becomes our opponents to charge *all* the persecution on the Catholic

<sup>1</sup> What aggravates the hardship of the persecution in regard to both these distinguished Catholic prelates, is the circumstance, that both were octogenarians of irreproachable character, whose age and virtues should have protected them from such outrages.

Church. A persistence in preferring such an accusation, against all evidence, reminds us of the fable concerning the wolf and the lamb. It was the lamb who always muddled the stream! No one can contravene these facts; and if they be unpleasant, we have at least the consolation to think that we had no agency in making them *facts*; and that we allege them at present only in self-vindication.

Even in our own country, though it boasts so loudly of its freedom, how often have Catholics been made the victims of religious intolerance! Every one knows the fierce spirit which is now invoked against them; every one remembers the smouldering ruins of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, and those of the Philadelphia Churches burned by a savage mob; and all are acquainted with those more recent outrages against our religious liberties to which we have already alluded. We may add, that in some of our hospitals, alms-houses, and other public institutions, supported by the money of all, Catholics are often denied the services of their clergymen and the consolations of religion, even at their dying hour!<sup>1</sup>

On the contrary, have Catholics ever persecuted, or have they ever shown even the slightest disposition to persecute, their dissenting brethren in this country? If they have, we desire to know when and where they made the attempt. One thing is certain, — and no one can deny it, or rob them of this glory: — they were the first who reared on this broad continent, in their own noble colony of Maryland, the glorious banner of civil and religious liberty. All must award them this praise; which they deserve the more, because, at that very time, the Puritans of New England, and the Episcopalians of Virginia were busily engaged in persecuting their brother Protestants for conscience sake;<sup>2</sup> and the former were moreover enacting proscriptive blue laws, and hanging witches!<sup>3</sup>

II. Come we now to the other charge against Catholics; — that they cannot, consistently with their principles, be good citizens of a republican government. Catholics cannot consistently be republicans! And pray, who originated all the free principles which lie at the basis of our own noble constitution? Who gave us trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, stationary courts, and the principle, — for which we fought and conquered in our revolutionary struggle against Protestant England, — that taxes are not to be levied without the free consent of those who pay them? Are we

<sup>1</sup> Cases of this petty persecution have occurred in Cincinnati, and in other places, particularly in the Eastern and Northern States.

<sup>2</sup> See Bancroft's History — Maryland.

<sup>3</sup> For full details on this subject, read the Essays on Our Colonial Blue Laws, P. 353, seqq.



indebted to Protestantism for even ONE of these cardinal elements of free government? No; not for one. They all date back to the good old Catholic times, in the middle ages — some three hundred years before the dawn of the reformation! Our Catholic forefathers gave them all to us; not one of them do we owe to Protestants.

Again, we are indebted to Catholics for all the republics which ever existed in Christian times, down to the year 1776; for those of Switzerland, Venice, Genoa, Andorra, San Marino, and a host of minor free commonwealths, which sprang up in the "dark" ages. Some of these republics lingered until a comparatively recent date; some still exist, proud monuments and unanswerable evidences of Catholic devotion to freedom. These facts no one can deny; they stand out too boldly on the historic record. They are acknowledged by Protestants, no less than by Catholics. We subjoin the testimony of an able writer in the New York Tribune, believed to be Bayard Taylor, who is connected with the management of that journal. This distinguished traveler — a staunch Protestant — appeals to history, and speaks from personal observation. He writes:

"Truth compels us to add that the oldest republic now existing is that of San Marino, not only Catholic but wholly surrounded by the especial dominion of the Popes, who might have crushed it like an egg-shell at any time these last thousand years — but they didn't. The only republic we ever traveled in besides our own is Switzerland, half of its cantons or states entirely Catholic, yet never that we have heard of unfaithful to the cause of freedom. They were nearly all Roman Catholics, from the southern cantons of Switzerland, whom Austria so ruthlessly expelled from Lombardy after the suppression of the last revolt in Milan, accounting them natural born republicans and revolutionists; and we suppose Austria is not a Know-Nothing on this point. We never heard the Catholics of Hungary accused of backwardness in the late glorious struggle of their country for freedom, though its leaders were Protestants, fighting against a leading Catholic power avowedly in favor of religious as well as civil liberty. And chivalric, unhappy Poland, almost wholly Catholic, has made as gallant struggles for freedom as any other nation, while of the three despotisms that crushed her but one was Catholic. But enough. We do not hope to stop the crusade of intolerance and violence now setting against the Catholics, calling for their disfranchisement, and threatening their temporary exclusion from all public trusts. Epidemics of this sort must have their course; and this one has some truth and a large amount of honest bigotry on which to base its operations. Quite a number, whose religion never till now did them much good or harm, will ride into office on the back of their resonant Protestantism, and that will be the end of the matter."

The reformation dawned on the world in the year 1517. What did it do for the cause of human freedom from that date, down to 1776 — when our own republic arose? Did it strike one blow for liberty during these

two centuries and a half? Did it originate one republican principle, or found one solitary republic? Not one. In Germany, where it had full sway, it ruthlessly trampled in the dust all the noble franchises of the Catholic middle ages; it established political despotism everywhere; it united church and state; in a word it brought about that very state of things which continues to exist, with but slight amelioration, even down to the present day. In England, it did the same; it broke down the bulwarks of the British constitution, derived from the Catholic Magna Charta; it set at naught popular rights, and gave to the king or queen unlimited power in church and state; and it required a bloody struggle and a revolution, one hundred and fifty years afterwards, to restore to something of their former integrity the old chartered rights of the British people.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Protestantism has boasted much, but it has really done little for the cause of human freedom. But are we not at least indebted to it for our own revolution, and for the liberties which it has secured for us? We cheerfully award to our Protestant fellow-citizens the praise, which is so justly due them, for *their* share in the glorious struggle; but they should also, in common justice, allow to Catholics the credit of having zealously co-operated with them, to the full extent of their means, in bringing about a result so glorious and so beneficial. He who was the most wealthy among the signers of our Declaration of Independence, and who consequently periled most in putting his name to that instrument, was the Catholic CHARLES CARROLL, of CARROLTON; whom Providence permitted to survive all his fellow-patriots, as if to rebuke the fierce and anti-republican spirit of intolerance, which was so soon to be evoked from the abyss against his brethren in religion. Catholic soldiers fought side by side with their Protestant brethren in the patriotic struggle; and when our energies were exhausted, and the stoutest hearts entertained the most gloomy forebodings as to the final issue, Catholic France stepped gallantly forth to the rescue of our infant freedom, almost crushed by an overwhelming English *Protestant* tyranny!<sup>2</sup> Many of our most sagacious statesmen have believed, that, but for this timely aid, our Declaration of Independence could scarcely have been made good.

Our enemies point, with an air of triumph, to the principles of Washington. We cheerfully accept the appeal. After the struggle was over, and Washington was unanimously elected first President of the

<sup>1</sup> For more on this subject, see the Essay on the Influence of Catholicity on Civil Liberty; Page 121, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic Spain also subsequently lent us her aid against England.

new republic, he received a congratulatory address from the Catholics of the country, in which the following passage is found :

"This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account, because whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defense under your auspicious conduct; rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships."<sup>1</sup>

To this portion of the Address, the father of his country replied as follows :

"As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget *the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government; or, the important assistance they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.*"<sup>2</sup>

We ask no more than that to which Washington believed us justly entitled,—a fair share in the civil and religious liberties which our fathers aided to secure equally to all American citizens. We ask for no exclusive privilege whatsoever; we claim only our clear and undoubted rights, in common with our fellow-citizens.

But are not Catholics the subjects of a foreign prince, the Pope? This slander—like almost everything else said against us—has been refuted so many thousand times already, that we are almost afraid to tire the patience, or insult the understanding of our readers by answering it again. No man of common intelligence or information need be told, at this late day, that the obedience we owe to the Pope is confined entirely to religion and to spiritual things; and that he neither claims, nor we allow, any jurisdiction over us in temporal matters affecting our civil allegiance. This question has been so long settled throughout the civilized world, that its revival at present appears to be wholly useless, if not utterly absurd.<sup>3</sup> When it was a question, more than sixty years ago, of removing some of the cruel penal laws under which the Catholics of

1 The Address was signed by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, on the part of the Catholic clergy, and by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimmons, and Dominic Lynch, on the part of the Catholic laity. See Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, by John Carroll Brent; p. 149, 147.

2 Spark's Life and Writings of Washington, vol. xii.

3 As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, St. Francis de Sales deprecated the discussion of this question on many accounts, and among other reasons, because he considered it "useless, since the Pope, in fact, at that day asked nothing of kings and princes in this respect—*Inutile, parceque le Pape, par le fait, ne demande rien aujourd'hui aux rois et aux princes pour ce regard.*" Letter to a Lady. Vie du Saint, par le Curé de St. Sulpice,—in 2 volumes. Vol. ii, p. 106. Paris, 1851.

England had been so long suffering, this very question in regard to the nature and extent of papal jurisdiction was discussed; and it was then settled to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Pitt and of the whole British parliament, which accordingly passed the Catholic Relief Bill.<sup>1</sup> The oath of allegiance freely taken by Catholic bishops, and members of parliament, and officers of the government in Great Britain and Ireland, with the sanction of the Popes themselves, expressly disclaims belief in any civil power or jurisdiction over British subjects, as inherent in the sovereign Pontiffs.

To prevent all possibility of misunderstanding on this subject, and to remove every pretext for calumny, the Popes authorized a change in the oath taken by a Bishop at his consecration, striking out all obscure clauses of feudal origin, and retaining those only which promised obedience in spirituals. What more than this could be asked by any reasonable man, for the final settlement of the question? The Catholic bishops of the United States, with the express sanction of Rome, take the oath, as thus modified; and they have more than once officially declared, both individually and in their collective capacity, their solemn belief that the Roman Pontiff has none but spiritual power and jurisdiction, outside of his own immediate states. The first Catholic bishop of the country—the venerable Carroll, of Baltimore,<sup>2</sup>—wrote as follows on this subject, in a Pastoral Letter issued February 22, 1797:<sup>3</sup>

“There would indeed be a foundation for the reproach intended by the words *foreign jurisdiction*, if we acknowledged in the successor of St. Peter any power or prerogative, which clashed in the least degree with the duty we owe to our country or its laws. To our country we owe allegiance and the tender of our best services and property, when they are necessary for its defense; to the Vicar of Christ we owe obedience in things *purely spiritual*. Happily, there is no competition in their respective claims on us, nor any difficulty in rendering to both the submission which they have a right to claim. Our country commands,

I Mr. Pitt made inquiries on this subject at the Catholic universities of the Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcalá, and Salamanca. Their answers were all distinct and unanimous, as follows:

I. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not, nor have, any civil authority power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England.

II. That the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

III. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions, either of a public or a private nature.

See the documents, at greater length, in Butler's Book of the Church, Appendix I, p. 287-8.

2 It may not be generally known, that Dr. Franklin, when minister to France, had several conferences with the Nuncio of the Pope on the subject of having a Catholic bishop appointed for America; that he approved of the plan, in order that American Catholics might not be dependent on an English bishop; and that he recommended for the post Dr. Carroll, his friend and companion in the mission to Canada.

3 Biographical Sketch, &c., *sup. cit.* P. 137-8.

and enforces by outward coercion, the services which tend to the preservation and defense of that personal security, and of that property, for the sake of which political societies were formed, and men agreed to live under the protection of, and in obedience to civil government. The Vicar of Christ, as visible head of His Church, watches over the integrity and soundness of doctrine, and makes use of means and weapons that act only on the souls of men, to enforce the duties of religion, the purity of worship, and ecclesiastical discipline."

Our bishops, assembled in solemn council at Baltimore, have often publicly proclaimed principles identical with those just announced, as emanating from the venerable founder of our hierarchy. We can make room for but two extracts, the first of which is taken from a Pastoral Letter issued by them in the sixth provincial council of Baltimore, held in May, 1846; from which it will be seen that our bishops, in their collective and official capacity, are very plain and explicit in their declarations on this very point:

"The paternal authority of the chief Bishop is constantly misrepresented and assailed by the adversaries of our holy religion, especially in this country, and is viewed with suspicion even by some who acknowledge its powerful influence in preserving faith and unity. It is unnecessary for us to tell you, brethren, that the kingdom of Christ, of which the Bishop of Rome, as successor of Peter, has received the keys, is not of this world; and that the obedience due to the Vicar of the Saviour is in no way inconsistent with your civil allegiance, your social duties as citizens, or your rights as men. We can confidently appeal to the whole tenor of our instructions, not only in our public addresses, but in our most confidential communications, and you can bear witness that we have always taught you to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, to God the things which are God's. Be not, then, heedful of the misrepresentations of foolish men, who, unable to combat the evidences of our faith, seek to excite unjust prejudice against that authority which has always proved its firmest support. Continue to practise justice and charity towards all your fellow-citizens—respect the magistrates—observe the laws—shun tumult and disorder, as free, and not as having liberty as a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God. You, brethren, have been called unto liberty; only make not liberty an occasion to the flesh, but by charity of the spirit, serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Thus you will put to shame the calumniators of our holy faith, and vindicate it more effectually, than by any abstract profession or disclaimer."

But there is another declaration, made by the bishops who composed the fifth council of Baltimore, held in May, 1843, which has even more weight in settling this question; because it occurs in an official Letter addressed to the Pope by the assembled American prelates. The Pontiff, far from being offended at so explicit a disavowal by the American bishops of all papal authority and jurisdiction in merely civil matters, says in his official answer: "Your letter was most pleasing to us;"<sup>1</sup> and he praises the zeal of our prelates. Here is the extract

<sup>1</sup> Gratissimum Nobis fuere Vestrae, Literae.

alluded to ;— the bishops are speaking of the efforts made by our enemies to put down the Church in this country :

“ They spread doubtful rumors against us among the people ; with untiring efforts, they circulate among the ignorant and uninformed books, which calumniate our most holy religion ; they leave no means untried to infect with their errors their Catholic servants ; and . . . although our forefathers poured out their blood like water for the defense of our liberties against a *Protestant* oppressor, they yet seek to render us, their fellow citizens, suspected by, and odious to the government, *by falsely asserting that we are reduced to servitude under the civil and political jurisdiction of a foreign prince, namely of the Roman Pontiff, and that we are therefore unfaithful to the republic !* ”<sup>1</sup>

But did not the Popes formerly claim the right of deposing princes, and of absolving their subjects from the oath of allegiance ? They certainly did ; and so did we claim the same right, when we deposed George III., and declared ourselves “ absolved ” from our oath of allegiance to him : and as our claim was assuredly nothing against liberty, but all for liberty, so was also that of the Popes. In every instance of its exercise, known to us, the Popes struck a blow at tyranny, and one, at the same time, for the security and liberty of an oppressed people. Instead of blaming, we should rather applaud them, for thus keeping alive, amidst political darkness and confusion, that spark of popular liberty, which was destined, a little later, to illumine the political horizon of Europe. That the friends of European monarchs should object to this papal claim, we can readily understand, because its exercise was necessarily directed against their tyranny ; but we cannot so easily explain the opposition to it manifested by our modern advocates of free principles. Yet the monarchists of Europe, along with Mr. Pitt, have long since been fully satisfied on this point ; whereas our shrewder republicans have just begun to open their eyes to the awful danger to our freedom growing out of a claim, no longer advanced even by the Popes themselves !

Having in the following pages devoted a special Essay to the examination of the historical facts connected with the first exercise of the deposing power by a Roman Pontiff, we must refer our readers to it for full details on the subject.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to say here, that the circumstances under which this extraordinary power was first claimed having long since ceased, the

<sup>1</sup> “ Dubias contra nos in vulgus voces spargunt, libros qui calumniantur sanctissimam nostram religionem omni nisu apud rudes ignarosque divulgant ; servos suos Catholicos hæresum suarum veneno ut inficiant nihil intactum relinquunt ; patremque suum qui ab initio mendax fuit imitantes, nos Catholicos concivos suos, quamvis patres nostri sanguinem suum tanquam aquam profunderint pro vindicatione libertatis contra oppressorem acatholicum, gubernio suspectos obnoxiosque reddere, utpote, ut falso asserunt, sub alieni principis, Pontificis sc. Romani dititione politica et civili in servitutem redactos, itaque reipublicæ infidos.” *Concilia Baltimor.* p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> See Article VIII, Gregory VII. and his Age—the Deposing Power, P. 162 seqq.



Popes have, for nearly three centuries, virtually abandoned the claim, by making no attempt at its exercise.

With a view to show that the influence of the Catholic Church tends to debase its members, our adversaries direct attention to the material condition of those countries which have continued faithful to the ancient religion, and upon which the light of the reformation has never dawned. These, they say, are very far inferior to the neighboring Protestant communities in thrift, in literature, in morals, in liberty, and especially in material and social improvement; and this inferiority they trace to the difference of religious influence. We answer, by denying both the fact as stated, and the inference thence drawn. Abundant evidence can be alleged to show, that, if in some respects Protestant are superior to Catholic nations, in others the latter far surpass the former; and that, in both cases, a difference of religious principles has much less to do with the matter than is commonly believed by those opposed to Catholicity. As, however, we devote six articles in the following collection to a somewhat detailed comparison of the two classes of countries in question, we will be excused from entering at present into the investigation; content with referring those who may be curious to examine the evidence, as furnished even by impartial Protestant writers, to those papers.<sup>1</sup>

To those, again, who are in the habit of pointing, with a sneer, to the comparatively degraded condition of Mexico and South America, as a natural consequence of the Catholic religion there professed, we would beg to observe, that the masses of the population in Spanish and Portuguese America are either of pure Indian descent, or of mixed races; and that consequently, it is manifestly unreasonable to expect them to have attained to the same elevated social level as ourselves, who belong to the much boasted and loudly boasting Anglo-Saxon stock!<sup>2</sup> As well might we expect to find our own high degree of civilization in the descendants of our North American Indians! There is this important difference between our policy and that of our Catholic neighbors, in regard to the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent; that, whereas we have exterminated them or driven them out into the wilderness, they, on the contrary, have settled down in their midst, intermarried with them, taught them Christianity, and thus sought to raise them up in the social scale, even at the expense of lowering themselves. While they have met the aborigines half-way, and have been content to occupy with them

<sup>1</sup> Entitled—*Catholic and Protestant Countries*—P. 451, seqq. In these articles our reasoning and illustrations are based chiefly on Protestant testimony.

<sup>2</sup> Not unmixed, however; for we have a strong infusion of the Celtic blood.

a middle ground between a high and a low level of civilization, we, wrapped up in our inborn complacency, and vaunting our high social position as the necessary result of our "Anglo-Saxon blood," have looked with contempt upon the poor savages whom our fathers found in the country,—much as the proud Pharisee looked down upon the poor publican,—have disdained all sympathy for, or alliance with them, and have caused them to melt away before our advancing and exclusive civilization, as the snow melts away before the solar rays! The comparison between us and our Catholic neighbors may excite our complacency, and flatter our pride; it says but little for our humanity, and less still for our religious zeal or Christian charity. Our Protestant fellow citizens would do well never to vaunt their superiority over their Mexican and South American brethren!<sup>1</sup> American Catholics, on the contrary, have reason to be proud of the Catholic colonists who explored and peopled our continent.<sup>2</sup>

To awaken suspicion against the Catholic priesthood, the public prints have long been circulating among the people the extraordinary assertion, that Lafayette warned American patriots against priestly influence in the following language: "If ever the liberty of the United States is destroyed, it will be by Romish priests." The fact of such a declaration coming from one who was a Catholic himself, if he was anything, bears the stamp of improbability, if not of downright absurdity on its very face; yet it passed current for truth, and was, we think, generally believed by the masses, who are prepared to devour any absurdity, provided it militate against Catholics! Now what will the impartial public think, when it is ascertained, that this charge, like most others which have been lately circulated in the country to our disadvantage, is not only utterly groundless, but is directly the reverse of truth!

It makes the French patriot say, in fact, directly the opposite of what he did say! Here is the extract from his letter to a Protestant gentleman in New York, written from Paris in 1829, shortly after his return from his visit to the United States; which letter no doubt gave occasion for concocting the calumny:<sup>3</sup>

"The friendly expressions of regard for my health and happiness conveyed in your kind letter to me of the 15th ultimo, I beg you to be assured, are grateful to my feelings; and I shall cherish the recollection of the many services and kindnesses towards me, on the part of both yourself and lady, while I was your guest in America, as among the

<sup>1</sup> We treat this subject in full in our Review of Webster's Bunker Hill Speech; P. 333, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the subject see the two papers reviewing Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, P. 250, seqq.; and the three articles on Early Catholic Missions in the North West, P. 203, seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the Cincinnati Inquirer, and other Journals.

most pleasing reminiscences connected with my late visit to the United States. . . . I cannot but admire your noble sentiments of devotion and attachment to your country and its institutions. But I must be permitted to assure you that the fears which in your patriotic zeal you seem to entertain,—that *if ever the liberty of the United States is destroyed, it will be by Romish priests*,—are certainly without any shadow of foundation whatever. An intimate acquaintance of more than half a century with the prominent and influential priests and members of that Church, both in England and America, warrants me in assuring you, that you need entertain no apprehension of danger to your republican institutions from that quarter."

But we are farther told, that Catholics in this country stand aloof from their Protestant fellow-citizens, and form a virtually separate society, having neither feelings nor interests in common with others; that they do not unite, at least cordially, with the rest of the community in carrying out our system of common schools; and that they cast their vote in a body for a particular political party. Let us briefly examine each of these three heads of accusation.

1. If the charge of our forming a separate community, with separate feelings and interests, refer to our religious organization and principles, we must plead guilty; it is surely not our fault, but our privilege, to differ on religious matters with such of our fellow-citizens as belong either to no religious communion whatever, or are members of the various conflicting sects which exist among us. We cheerfully allow to them the right of thinking and acting for themselves in matters of religion without molestation, and they should surely grant us the same freedom:—*Hanc veniam petimus, damusque vicissim*. This privilege should be the more cheerfully accorded to us, as we propose no innovation, but merely claim the right of walking, as our forefathers, as well as the ancestors of our accusers themselves walked, and went to heaven, for fifteen hundred years, before the world was blessed or cursed with this Babel-like confusion of tongues in the matter of religion.

If the accusation be meant to imply, that we are a separate *civil* community, and that, as citizens, we have feelings and interests different from those of others, we repel the charge as an injurious slander. Catholics cordially participate in all our civic anniversary festivals; they pray in their churches for all their fellow citizens, and for the permanent prosperity of this free government;<sup>1</sup> they nobly fight the battles of the country, and they are as willing to shed their blood in its defense or for its honor, as any of their brethren. In a word, they yield to none in patriotism and valor. About one-half of our regular army—if not even a larger

<sup>1</sup> The beautiful prayer, for the "Ruling Powers," composed by Archbishop Carroll, is frequently read in our churches.

proportion — is composed of Roman Catholic soldiers ; a large number of the sailors and marines, attached to our young but vigorous navy, are also Catholics ; and our chief officers in both arms of the service have often praised their fidelity to our flag, and their unfaltering courage in the hour of danger. In every battle-field of our country, — in the two wars against *Protestant* England, as well as in the late war against *Catholic* Mexico, — Catholics have freely bled, by the side of their Protestant fellow citizens, for the honor and triumph of our country.

After the death of General Washington, bishop Carroll pronounced a splendid eulogy on his character, in the cathedral of Baltimore ;<sup>1</sup> and after the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson was received in triumph in the Catholic cathedral, the laurel garland of victory, woven by Catholic hands, was placed on his brow by a Catholic priest ; and the noble hero might be seen weeping with joyful emotion, as he listened and responded to the eloquent and patriotic address delivered on the occasion by the Rev. M. Dubourg. In a beautiful address delivered in Washington by Mr. Livingston, on the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, the distinguished orator feelingly alluded to the pavement of the church being worn by the holy knees of the Ursuline nuns, praying fervently that victory might perch on the American banner, and drawing from the feast of the day — that of St. Victoria — an omen of success ! We repeat it, the charge, understood in this sense, is a base calumny.

2. But we are not friendly to the common schools. Our answer is at hand. Let the Protestant majority, in this free country, make those schools not to wound the religious feelings, nor endanger the religious faith of our children, and then may they, with some show of reason, taunt with not cheerfully uniting in patronizing them. Let them remove from them all sectarian books, all sectarian influences, all teachers who abuse their position for purposes of proselytism ; let them not force upon our children the reading of a version of the Bible, which, in common with four-fifths of Christendom, we consider neither a genuine nor a complete rendering of the divine word :<sup>2</sup> — and then they will make it not only our interest, but our pleasure to unite with them in supporting the common schools. It will be our interest ; for, in common with our fellow citizens, we pay our taxes for the erection and maintenance of

<sup>1</sup> This solid and noble oration is published in full in the "Biographical Sketch of Archbishop Carroll," above quoted, 163, seqq. The panegyric, by one who knew so well the Father of his country, produced a profound sensation at the time it was delivered.

<sup>2</sup> And in which a committee of Protestant ministers, lately assembled in New York for the purpose of preparing a revised edition of the Bible, discovered no less than twenty-four thousand errors of translation !

those schools ; and if we do not patronize them, we have to incur the enormous additional expense of erecting separate schools for our own children, and are thus double taxed for educational purposes. The motive which would prompt us to make so great a sacrifice must be indeed a very strong one ; and it is really we who have the best right to complain, not the Protestant majority which enforces such a hardship upon us. If we could conscientiously do it, we have every possible motive to patronize the common schools ; but we hold that it is better far to suffer any earthly loss, rather than to jeopardize our faith or that of our children. Life is short, eternity never ending ; and "what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?"<sup>1</sup>

In countries much less free than ours, the common school system is so organized, that Catholics and Protestants have separate schools. Austria, with all her alleged tyranny, and with her triumphant Catholic majority of population, freely grants separate schools, supported out of the common fund, to the Protestant minority.<sup>2</sup> England, with all her hereditary hatred of Catholicity, permits the Catholics to have their own separate schools ; and this is not found to conflict in practice with her common school system. Lower Canada, with its immense Catholic majority, freely concedes the privilege of separate schools to the small Protestant minority ; and every one who reads the public prints must be familiar with the controversy, which is now carried on in Canada, and even in the Canadian parliament, on the subject of having this same equitable provision extended, in all its privileges, to the Catholic minority of Upper Canada. Strange, that Catholics, when in power, should be so liberal in granting a privilege, which a Protestant majority is so slow to concede !<sup>3</sup>

Why should the freest country on the face of the earth form an exception, and be in fact the most exacting and tyrannical of all, in this matter of education ? Can it be, that the immense Protestant majority in this country is apprehensive of the influence, which, in the case of this equitable provision being adopted, would be exercised by the small Catholic minority ? Or are they afraid of entering the lists of free competition with their Catholic fellow-citizens ? While all other pursuits are left open to honest emulation, and the rivalry does good to all, why should education alone be trammelled, by being made a state monopoly ?

<sup>1</sup> St. Matthew xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Article II. on Catholic and Protestant Countries, for the Protestant authority sustaining this assertion. *Infra*. P. 485, seqq. We believe that this is also, at least substantially, the case in Catholic Bavaria, as well as in Catholic France and Belgium ; at any rate we hear of no complaints made by Protestants on the subject, in regard to these or other Catholic countries, where Protestants exist as a resident body.

<sup>3</sup> See late Canadian papers, *passim*.

We are persuaded, that the provision for separate schools would greatly promote the permanency and prosperity of the common school system itself. It would destroy an odious restriction on parental rights, it would awaken a new energy in the cause of education, it would open new fields for generous rivalry; and, above all, it would render education much cheaper, and thereby lighten that heavy burden of taxation which is now weighing us down. It is a generally conceded fact, that Catholics can educate more cheaply than Protestants; and this may be one reason why the latter are not willing to hazard a free competition with the former. Grant separate schools, and our word for it, you will not have to pay much more than half the taxes you have been in the habit of disbursing for educational purposes. While we cheerfully submit to be guided by the principle of taxing the rich in order to educate the poor, — since under our present circumstances, it seems to be the only practicable means for effecting an object so desirable, — we naturally object, in common with all impartial and sensible men, to any excessive or unnecessary taxation.<sup>1</sup>

In Catholic times, no taxation whatever was necessary for educational purposes, especially for the education of the poor. Under the influence of Catholic charity and zeal for education, colleges and schools sprang up spontaneously in every part of Europe. These schools were *FREE*, in every sense of the word; no one was taxed to erect them, no one had to pay for entering them.<sup>2</sup> The first college, the first schools, and the first hospital, ever established on the North American continent, were erected by Catholics.<sup>3</sup> In all countries and in all ages, Catholics, and particularly the Catholic clergy, have been foremost in advancing the cause of popular education.<sup>4</sup>

It would be a subject of very useful inquiry, whether our common school system, as at present managed, be really conducive to a high tone of refinement, and to the development of sound morals, in the youth educated under its auspices. It is a Christian principle, of pretty general acceptance, that human nature is corrupt and more prone to evil than to good; and that consequently the religion of Christ is indispensably necessary for healing its evil tendency and causing it to walk in the path of virtue. The theory, which makes morality practicable, or even

<sup>1</sup> It is generally known, that what is undertaken and executed by the state usually costs much more money than what is done by individuals; and the same may be said of works carried on by corporations.

<sup>2</sup> See, for details, the Article on Schools and Universities in the "Dark" Ages, P. 118, seqq.

<sup>3</sup> See the Articles on Catholic Missions in the North West; First Paper, P. 298, seqq. Also the papers on the Conquest of Mexico: sup. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See the Article — Literature and the Catholic Clergy, P. 96. Read also the Lecture on Literature and the Arts in the Middle Ages; P. 77, seqq.



possible, without religion, is evidently more Pagan than Christian. If this be so, how can the children educated in our common schools be properly trained to sound morality, without a course of religious instruction, which the system excludes? To say, that sufficient religious knowledge for the purpose may be imparted, without what is called *Sectarian* teaching, seems to us wholly preposterous. To be adequate, the religious instruction should be detailed and practical, not general, vague, and theoretical; but the latter only can be compatible with our present school system, while the former could scarcely be carried out without trenching on forbidden ground. But let us look at the practical influence of the system, as exhibited in the general moral conduct of the youth educated in our common schools. Do these, in general, show, by their moral deportment, that they have been properly trained? Have they been taught politeness, respect for age, obedience to parents, morality in thought, word, and deed? We fear not. Our youth are growing more and more licentious and demoralized, with each succeeding generation; our boys particularly become men before they are half grown; they have learned all else better, than the art of governing their passions. The late fearful increase of crime, especially in our cities and towns, is a sad proof of this increasing demoralization. To what an abyss of vice are we hastening! There must be something sadly wrong somewhere.

3. But Catholics, especially those of foreign birth, vote together, and vote for a particular political party: the liberties of our country are therefore endangered from this constantly augmenting foreign influence. This charge is groundless, both in its facts and in its inferences. In the first place, our native born Catholics have been heretofore divided, almost equally, between the two leading political parties of the country; in the second place, though the large majority of the Catholics of foreign birth have been in the habit of voting with the democrats, yet they have been far from unanimous on the subject; in the third place, the number of Catholics in this country is now, and is likely to continue to be, much too insignificant to rule the country in one way or another, either for good or for evil.

The following candid and sensible remarks from the Boston Post, a political print of some standing, contains so much sound reasoning on this subject, based upon facts tending to show the glaring absurdity of the charge that "foreigners are taking the country," that we will be pardoned for republishing them entire:

"It is said that we shall be overrun with foreigners; that they will rise upon native citizens and overpower them; that Catholicism will prevail

and deprive America of its liberties. These assertions have been reiterated so often that thousands really fear such results. Take the former apprehension, and let facts, so far as they bear on the question of physical force, say how groundless that fear is. In the first place, for the whole time we have been a nation, it is a fact that no such attempt has been made; and if it ever should be made, such is the admirable working of our institutions, that the rule of a mob is utterly out of the question. Permanent success, even where the foreign population outweighs the native population, is an impossibility; for the whole force of the country would at once be invoked to suppress such a rule. In the next place, consider the utter folly, want of foresight, and suicidal policy of such an attempt, if it should ever be made. Of our now thirty millions of population one million<sup>1</sup> only are from Ireland: of the thirty-eight thousand churches that the census of 1850 shows as being in the country, the Catholic are set down at one thousand two hundred and twenty-one; and of the eighty-seven millions of church property, the Catholics have nine millions. Now, cannot this immense preponderance of Protestantism and of Americanism take care of itself? Is it not perfectly preposterous to suppose for a moment that the Irish Catholics will ever attempt to 'rise,' as the phrase is, with such an enormous disparity against them? It is due, it is but bare justice, to our foreign population to say, that not only has there been no attempt at rising, but their conduct — save only in cases when heated by liquor or otherwise excited — has been almost invariably that of peaceable citizens, submissive to the laws. They have a right to have such a certificate, as to the past, to stand in their favor; and when we consider their position among us, we believe there is no more danger of their 'rising' than there is of the falling of the stars."

Much has been said and written of late years about the "foreign vote." Both parties, on the eve of elections, have been in the habit of courting "foreigners;" who have thus, against their own choice and will, been singled out from the rest of the community, and placed in a false and odious position, by political demagogues for their own vile purposes. That they have been thus severed from their fellow citizens, and insulted with the compliment of their influence as a separate body, has not been so much their fault, as it has been their misfortune. From the successful party they have generally received, — with a few honorable exceptions — little but coldness *after* the election; while from the party defeated, they have invariably received nothing but abuse and calumny. So they have been, without their own agency, placed between two fires, and have been caressed and outraged by turns. Any appeal made to them by politicians, in their character of religionists or foreigners, and not in that of American citizens, is manifestly an insult, whether so intended or not; and we trust that Catholics will always view such appeals in this light. Whenever it is question of state policy, they can have no interests different from those of their fellow citizens. The laws which will be good for the latter, will be good for them; at least they can live under any system of equal

<sup>1</sup> The number is probably greater; but this does not affect the argument.

legislation which will suit the Protestant majority, with whom they cheerfully share all the burdens of the country.

The Catholic bishops and clergy of the country have discreetly stood aloof, and wisely abstained from exercising any influence in the exciting political contests which have successively arisen. We ourselves, though to the manor born, have never even voted on a political question; and we believe that most of our brother prelates and clergy have adopted the same prudent precaution; not surely through any want of interest in the country, but chiefly with a view to remove from the enemies of our Church the slightest pretext for slandering our religious character. The only influence, we have sought to bring to bear on the members of our communion, has been invariably in the interests of peace, of order, and of charity for all men, even for our most bitter enemies. Whenever we have had occasion to address our people on the eve of elections, we have counseled them to avoid all violence, to beware of being carried away by passion, to be temperate, to respect the feelings and principles of their opponents; and, in the exercise of their franchise as citizens, to vote conscientiously for the men and measures they might think most likely to advance the real and permanent interests of the republic. We defy any one to prove, that we have ever attempted to exercise any other influence than this. The contrary has been occasionally asserted by unprincipled demagogues, for political effect; but the accusation, like many others made in the heat of political contests, has in every instance turned out to be a grievous slander; which was scarcely believed at the time, even by those who were most busy in giving it circulation.

Never since the foundation of the republic has it been heard of, that the Catholic bishops or clergy have taken an active part in conducting the proceedings of political conventions, or in fomenting political excitement, in the name of the religion of peace and love. They are not, and never have been, either abolitionists or freesoilers, ultraists or politico-religious alarmists. Nor have they ever ventured, either collectively or individually, to address huge remonstrances to congress, threatening vengeance in the name of Almighty God, unless certain particular measures were passed or repealed! Never have they been heard brawling in the public streets and highways, haranguing in violent language the already excited populace, lashing their passions into fury, and openly exciting them to deeds of mob violence and bloodshed! Never have they been known to parade the Bible in noisy political processions, thus prostituting the holy book, which breathes naught but

peace and good will towards all men, to the vile purposes of political faction and sectarian strife ! Ministers of other denominations have done, or countenanced all these things ; and we cheerfully leave to them all the glory, whether religious or political, which they can possibly derive from such a line of conduct.<sup>1</sup>

Catholics of foreign birth are charged, in the same breath, with voting the democratic ticket, and with being the secret or open enemies of republican government ! Is it then true, that a man cannot be a democrat, without being a traitor to his country ? If so, then have the destinies of this great republic been ruled, with very slight intermission, for nearly thirty years by an organized band of traitors, consisting of the vast majority of our population ! Catholics can well afford to be traitors in such goodly company. We are no politicians ourselves, and, so far as we have had any political leaning, they have heretofore been to the policy of the whigs ; but, in common with every man of sound judgment and liberal mind, we reprobate the spirit, which would thus inconsistently and absurdly brand the advocates of different principles as enemies of the country and of all liberty. The genius of our noble constitution is in favor of allowing to every man the largest liberty of opinion in matters of state policy, without his thereby incurring the risk of having his motives questioned or his loyalty impeached. If any charge could be consistently made or sustained against this large portion of our Catholic population, it would be, on the contrary, that they have been generally in favor of too enlarged a liberty, to tally with the views of those who profess to belong to the conservative school ; but to charge them with an intention to undermine our republic, is simply an absurdity, as glaring as it is malicious.

Those who are loudest in their denunciations of "foreigners" seem to forget what "foreigners" have done for the country. They have filled our army and navy ; they have fought our battles ; they have leveled our forests, peopled our vast unoccupied territory, and filled our cities with operatives and mechanics ; they have dug our canals, built our turnpikes and railroads, and have thus promoted, more perhaps than any other class, the improvement of the country and the development of its vast resources ; in a word, they have, in every way, largely contributed towards enhancing

<sup>1</sup> It is also well known that, particularly during the late elections, Protestant ministers took an active part in the canvass. In several instances, they were even candidates for office, and in some cases elected. It is they, and not the Catholics, who have thus attempted to mingle religion with politics ; and if ever there be brought about a union of Church and State in this republic, it will surely not be accomplished by Catholics, but by those precisely who are foremost in the crusade against them ! Let the lovers of freedom look to it in time ! The Protestant ministers may, in fact, be said to be at the head of the abolition party in the north.

the wealth and increasing the prosperity of the republic. Do they deserve nothing but bitter denunciation and unsparing invective for all these services? Are they to be branded as aliens and traitors, for having thus effectually labored to serve their adopted country?

But they are foreigners in feeling and in interest, and they still prefer their own nationality to ours. We answer first, that if this their alleged feeling be excessive, and if it tend to diminish their love for the country of their adoption, it is certainly in so far reprehensible; but where is the evidence that this is the case? Has their lingering love for the country of their birth,—with its glowing memories of early childhood and ripening manhood, of a mother's care and a sister's love,—interfered in aught with their new class of duties as American citizens? Has it prevented their sharing cheerfully in the burdens, in the labors, and in the perils of the country? We believe not. Instead of their being unconcerned and indifferent, their chief fault, in the eyes of their enemies, lies precisely in the opposite,—in their taking *too much* interest in the affairs of the republic. We answer, in the second place, that this natural feeling of love for the country of their birth, growing as it does out of that cherished and honorable sentiment which we denominate patriotism, will, in the very nature of things, gradually diminish under the influence of new associations, until it will finally be absorbed into the one homogeneous nationality; and thus the evil—if it be an evil—will remedy itself. The only thing which can possibly keep it alive for any considerable time, would be precisely the narrow and proscriptive policy, adopted in regard to citizens of foreign birth by the Know Nothings and their sympathizers. The endeavor to stifle this feeling by clamor and violence will but increase its intensity.

We answer thirdly, that the influence of Catholicity tends strongly to break down all barriers of separate nationalities, and to bring about a brotherhood of citizens, in which the love of our common country and of one another would absorb every sectional feeling. Catholicity is of no nation, of no language, of no people; she knows no geographical bounds; she breaks down all the walls of separation between race and race, and she looks alike upon every people, and tribe, and caste. Her views are as enlarged as the territory which she inhabits; and this is as wide as the world. Jew and gentile, Greek and barbarian; Irish, German, French, English, and American, are all alike to her. In this country, to which people of so many nations have flocked for shelter against the evils they endured at home, we have a striking illustration of this truly Catholic

spirit of the Church. Germans, Irish, French, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Hungarians, Hollanders, Belgians, English, Scotch, and Welch ; differing in language, in national customs, in prejudices, — in every thing human, — are here brought together in the same Church, professing the same faith, and worshiping like brothers at the same altars ! The evident tendency of this principle is, to level all sectional feelings and local prejudices, by enlarging the views of mankind, and thus to bring about harmony in society, based upon mutual forbearance and charity. And in fact, so far as the influence of our Church could be brought to bear upon the anomalous condition of society in America, it has been exercised for securing the desirable result of causing all its heterogeneous elements to be merged in the one variegated, but homogeneous nationality. Protestantism isolates and divides ; Catholicity brings together and unites. Such have been the results of the two systems in times past ; such, from their very nature, must be their influence on society at all times and in all places.

The character of the foreign immigration into this country has been undergoing a considerable change within the last few years ; the German element now strongly predominates over the Irish, and perhaps the Protestant and infidel, over the Catholic. The disastrous issue of the revolutionary movements which convulsed all Europe in 1848-9, has thrown upon our shores masses of foreign political refugees, most of whom are infidels in religion, and red republicans, or destructionists of all social order, in politics. The greatest, and, in fact, the only real danger to the permanency of our republican institutions, is to be apprehended from this fast increasing class of foreigners, composed in general, of men of desperate character and fortune, — of outlaws from society, with the brand of infidelity upon their brow. Against the anarchical principles advocated by these men the Catholic Church takes open ground ; and she feels honored by their bitter hostility. It could not be otherwise. Her principles are eminently conservative in all questions of religion and of civil polity ; theirs are radical and destructive in both. There is the old war of Satan against Christ ; of the sons of Belial against the keepers of the law ; of false and anti-social against true and rational liberty — “ the liberty of the glory of the children of God.”

If the lately organized secret political association warred against the pernicious principles maintained by such foreigners as these, we would not only have no cause to complain, but we would rather applaud their patriotic efforts in the cause of true freedom, and bid them God speed. But what is our astonishment to find, that our boasted advocates of “ American



principles," instead of opposing, secretly or openly sympathize with these sworn enemies of all religion and of all social order — of God and man ; as well as with the reckless and blood-stained Irish Orangemen ! Say what you will, their efforts are directed almost solely against the Catholic element in the foreign immigration, and chiefly against the Irish Catholics. Their professions are belied by their acts, all of which point to Catholicity, as the victim whose ruin is to be accomplished, at all hazards, in this *free* and *republican* country. What else is indicated by the bloody riots gotten up by hired street brawlers against the Irish Catholics ; what else by the wrecking and burning of Catholic churches ? If the true policy of the country demands a revision or repeal of the naturalization laws, then bring about this result by fair, consistent, and honorable means ; set about it in an open and manly manner, as men, as Americans, as Christians, not as cowards fearing the light of day, and skulking beneath the cover of darkness. If a new policy in regard to foreign immigrants is to be adopted, or if even the alien and sedition laws are to be re-enacted, let the country know your purpose in time, that all the true lovers of freedom may be prepared for the issue.

But the Irish immigrants are vicious and immoral. That a portion of them have their faults, — grievous and glaring faults, — we do not deny ; but all fair and impartial men will admit, that the charge made against them as a body is atrociously unjust. They have their faults, which are paraded and greatly exaggerated by the public press ; but they have also their virtues, which are studiously kept out of view. They have their faults ; but have not the corresponding classes in our own population their vices also, as great, if not greater than those of the class which is now singled out as the victims of a virtuous public indignation ?<sup>1</sup> They have their vices, but these are often faults of the head more than of the heart ; of imprudence and thoughtlessness, more than of deliberate design and malice. If you look for the accomplished forger, the cold-blooded midnight assassin or murderer, the daring burglar, the man who goes always armed with the destructive bowie-knife or revolver, ready for any deed of blood, you will, in general, have to seek elsewhere than among the class of Irish immigrants, whom you so fiercely denounce.

The Irishman's vices are generally the result of intemperance, or of the sudden heat of passion, sometimes aroused by outrages upon his

<sup>1</sup> Besides, is no allowance to be made for them, in consequence of that grinding oppression with which Protestant England has crushed them for centuries ? We doubt much whether any other people would have stood up so well under a tyranny so dreadful and so long continued. See the Article — Ireland and the Irish, p. 506 — *sup. cit.*

country or religion ; he is easily misled by evil associates, but his heart is generally in the right place. You can accomplish everything with him by mildness and persuasion ; you can do nothing by overbearing harshness and reckless insult. The Irishman has no concealment in his character ; what he is, he is openly and before the whole world ; and this circumstance, together with the deadly hatred which has been lately awakened against his countrymen in this land of boasted freedom, may aid us in accounting for the singular fact, that so many Irish are arrested for real or alleged crimes, whereas so many of our natives, equally or more guilty, are permitted to go free ! A riot occurs in one of our cities ; the Irish get the worst of it ; they are overpowered by superior numbers, are beaten and murdered ; and in the end it turns out, that all those arrested are from the injured and outraged party themselves ! The really guilty go free, the comparatively innocent are punished by the arm of the law.

Those among them who fall into crime have been already, in most instances, estranged from their Church by the influence of dangerous associations, often with the depraved portion of our own native population. They go not to the Church ; they hear or heed not the voice of their pastors ; they do not approach the sacraments ; they are Catholics only in name, if even they retain the name. Whose fault is it, that they are thus estranged and corrupted ? Not surely the fault of the Church, which seeks to reclaim and to save them. How can the pastors of the Church be held responsible for the misconduct of those who will not even hear their voice, or consent to be brought under the saving influence of the religion which they inculcate ? Of all the charges which have been lately made against the Catholic Church, the most glaringly unjust is that, which ascribes the immorality of a certain class, amongst those who may still call themselves Catholics, to the disastrous influence which she exercises over their minds. These unfortunate men are thus seduced into habits of crime by evil influences acting entirely *outside* the Church, and then their crimes are laid at the door of the Church itself, which they have been induced practically to abandon ! Was there ever iniquity greater than this ?

The Church weeps, like a tender mother, over the sins of her children ; she employs every kind and tender influence to win them back to virtue ; she goes after them in their wanderings, as the Good Shepherd after the strayed sheep ; she has no word of reproach or railing to frighten them farther away from the fold ; with earnest and unflinching love, she seeks

to reclaim them from their errors; no poverty, no misery however squalid or loathsome, no disease however infectious deters her from pursuing her cherished work of mercy: and if she succeeds in her mission, her heart overflows with unspeakable joy and gladness, and she bears them back with maternal affection to her sanctuary, and lays them tenderly and joyously at the foot of her altars, as noble trophies of her labor of love. Her ministers labor day and night for the spiritual welfare of their people; they wear out their health, and grow prematurely old in assiduous toil among the poor and lowly; they often lay down their lives for their flocks. And if their zeal is not always crowned with success, if scandals still abound, in spite of their exertions to promote virtue, the unfortunate result is surely not owing to their fault, because clearly beyond their control.

The Church fails not at all times earnestly to inculcate on her children the duty of being good citizens of this republic, and of sincerely loving, and praying for *all* their fellow-citizens, even those who hate and revile them. She often addresses them in language similar to that, which was lately employed by one of our first prelates in age, learning, piety, and station,—Dr. Kenrick, the Archbishop of Baltimore,—the first episcopal see in the country. We cannot better conclude this Address than with an extract from his recent Pastoral Letter; and we are quite sure that every bishop, every priest, and every layman of our Church in this country will cheerfully subscribe to every sentiment and to every word therein contained:

“We take this occasion, brethren, to recommend to your most earnest prayers the peace, prosperity, and happiness of these United States, and of all our fellow-citizens. It is not our province, as pastors of the Church, to meddle with political interests: but it is our duty to exhort you to continue faithful to the constitution and government under which you have the happiness to live, obedient to the laws, respectful to all the civil authorities, and to prove yourselves by your conduct peaceful and orderly citizens. Be not concerned at the suspicions cast on your loyalty and patriotism, and the efforts made to proscribe you, and check the progress of our holy religion. ‘Who is he that can hurt you, if you be zealous of good? But if, also, you suffer any thing for justice sake, blessed are ye. And be not afraid of their fear, and be not troubled. But sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts.’ Pursue, then, the peaceful path of industry, regardless of political partizanship; shun the use of intoxicating liquors; avoid secret societies; practise your religion; teach it to your children; take every opportunity to perform kind offices towards your fellow-citizens, whatever wrongs you may endure, and pray that God may lead all to the knowledge of the truth. This course of conduct is your best defense—your only security, whilst it will vindicate most effectually the honor of the Church. Keep far away from scenes of danger; from tumult and bloody strife. In the retirement of your chambers, and at the foot of the altar, pour out your hearts in prayer, that God may turn away

His anger and in the day of His just visitation may remember mercy. Implore Him to relieve our country from pestilence, which now strews the land with victims, from the disorders of the elements which spread terror and destruction, — but, above all, from the maddening influence of the demon of civil discord. Ask Him to continue and perpetuate those free institutions which have hitherto united in social brotherhood and concord the millions of men of various nations and creeds, that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bask in the sunshine of liberty. Pray that to all may be imparted the still greater blessings of faith and love, that we may with one heart and mouth glorify God and fulfill his law, in order to our salvation."



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